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## History is Simply the Sum Total of Changes in the Powers of Production.

For the establishment of Social Democracy all the enlightened progressive forces of the world are now at work.

It is a chance to live that we all want; and we are going to be forced to see that our chance depends on the equal chance of everybody else.

Liberty for all can only be had by recognition of the individual rights of each. This Socialism will do; it will establish liberty and protect the individual.

There is one spot in the United States where 2,000 workmen seem to be having prosperity, and this isolated case is not creditable to the country because of the use to which the product is being put. The place is the United States armory at Springfield, Mass., where every day 400 Krags-Jorgensen rifles are made.

The initial number of The Toiler, a new weekly devoted to the interests of labor in general and organized labor in particular, with its home at Terre Haute, has made its appearance. We welcome the new advocate of labor's cause; under the management of Comrade Ed. Evinger it will present the true solution and we hope become a powerful aid in the emancipation of the toiler.

McKinley's idea of the true glory of a nation seems to be Size, Bigness; but it is not the correct idea. China is big, but Greece is more glorious. The true glory of the United States lies in the future.

"Take up another burden—  
God knows you have enough.  
With trusts and boudle solons  
To make your journey rough;  
With woman's wrongs unrighted,  
With all your social pains,  
The Red Man dead, yet dying,  
The freedman still in chains."

But with all his "bigness," McKinley is not big enough for that.

The Whitman (Mass.) shoe lasters appealed to Gov. Wolcott in the matter of a dispute between them and their capitalistic masters. The governor declined to deal with the question; of course he did, and the Shoe Trade Journal says that disputes between employer and employee are not subjects for the governor of a State to meddle with. But what if the appeal had come from the employers? The governor would have meddled with alacrity in that case, no doubt, and with guns, too. It's another lesson for the people, who are so slow to see that the government exists for the exploiting or employing class. When they understand this, they will give the Roger Wolcott's their walking papers and have men of their own class in office who will hear their appeals.

It was at Chicago during "jubilee" week that McKinley said, "We have passed from labor seeking employment to employment seeking labor."

This long ago has passed into the category of prosperity catch phrases; there never was any truth in it.

The other day McKinley gave \$100 to assist the distressed and hungry people of Washington who are seeking employment and not finding it.

On that same Western trip McKinley declared, amid the plaudits of the open-mouth Wise Mikes, that "Trade follows the flag!"

The other day at Boston he forgot all about the policy he had and said "Our concern is not trade!"

Or, did he ever really have a policy?

A new book, published for the use and benefit of corporate gluttons and trust thieves, and edited by that eminent American "patriot," Chauncey M. Depew, is "One Hundred Years of American Commerce." It is to sell in full morocco at \$18.00. The prospectus boldly asserts the lie that "Our tariff policy and our rewards to inventive genius have stimulated our productive energies and agencies BEYOND OUR CONSUMING CAPACITY. This so-called over-production has resulted in a domestic competition which perplexes the wisest minds which seek its correction."

That millions of men, women and children in this country do not get enough to eat or clothes to wear, notwithstanding the enormous productive power of the nation, is not a matter of consideration with such "editors" as C. M. Depew.

A bank in New York has a machine that keeps a whole set of books and does it better, more accurately, than a man could. It was specially invented and designed at the request of the bank's president and promises to revolutionize bookkeeping.

The study of Karl Marx is a good thing and we recommend it; but it is not necessary to prove that two and two are four, and the truths of Socialism are as plain as that simple sum in arithmetic. Read the speech of Comrade Chase for an example.

The small dealer and manufacturer squeals when one after another the trusts are consummated and they begin to feel how impotent the individual is in the economic evolution. But do they think the trusts can be disbanded by a "Be it enacted," because it is becoming difficult for them to make a living?

It is to be regretted that a man like Prof. Alfred Russell Wallace should give support to the purely chimerical notion of working-men going into "competition with the employers." That program is not Socialism, and so far as it has been attempted it has failed wretchedly. The masses have not been helped, nor can they be helped in that way.

While our commercial cormorants are going after trade, by seeking to clothe the 250,000,000 inhabitants of the earth who don't wear clothes and prefer to be without, millions at home are compelled to go without clothes which they need because of the concentration and monopolization of the means of production in the hands of "philanthropic" and "5 per cent. patriots."

A workman produces \$10 daily, basing values on the selling price of goods.

The same workman receives as wages \$1.17 or \$8.83 less than the value of his product.

He cannot buy \$10 worth of goods with \$1.17 of money, and the "philanthropic" and "5 per centers," who are greatly distressed over the "poor workingman" cry "Over-production! We must go abroad to dispose of our products!"

Can you think, man?

An appropriation of \$190,000 was recently made by the Senate for a fast mail service from New York to points South, despite the opposition of the post office committees of both houses. In the corridors were a dozen railway lobbyists, pulling wires for the appropriation. Says a Washington dispatch:

"When it came time to vote on the appropriation the lobby retired to the galleries and watched the roll call, checking off each Senator as he answered to his name. The most prominent official of the Southern road sat in a front seat of the senators' private gallery and turned his opera glasses upon each senator as he voted. An assistant checked the roll as the call proceeded, at the same time announcing to this official the tallying as it stood after each vote."

A great success, surely, this government of the people, by the people and for the people!

Frank G. Coburn is a Secret Service man in the employ of the government.

He has made an affidavit corroborating the charges of Gen. Miles as to the preparation of "embalmed beef" for the army.

A very interesting part of his affidavit is that where he tells what happened to him at Washington.

He says that he was ordered to go before the War Investigation Committee; that he saw an attache of the commission, and, "after hearing the story of what I knew, he said that IF I WANTED TO STAY IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE SERVICE, I HAD BETTER GO AWAY, AND NOT TELL THE COMMISSION WHAT I HAD TOLD HIM. HE SAID THAT THE EMPLOYEES OF THE SECRET SERVICE HAD BEEN VERY KIND TO THE COMMISSION IN THAT WAY."

That calcining operation has failed of accomplishing its purpose. No wonder the commission found nothing wrong, since men who had any sure enough knowledge were invited to "go away." The commission didn't want proof and the men who could give it were either not called or told to "go away."

## THE ROSTRUM.

From a Speech by Mayor John C. Chase, at Newburyport, Mass.

The great problem before the people of this and every other civilized country is the industrial problem. That is to say that, after thousands of years of civilization, the question of how to supply our wants as a nation, is still unsettled. It seems almost impossible, yet it is a fact. We do not know how to make the most of our opportunities. Here we are, as a nation, blessed with the most bountiful resources. Nature in her generosity has provided everything needful for the wants of humanity, and we know not how to make the most of such generosity. We have, in our great and glorious country, from three to four million tramps continuously roaming the country over in search of some place, where they may be given permission to apply their labor power to the resources of Nature and bring forth the sustenance of life. Their silent tramp, tramp, tramp is constantly going on. Increasing in numbers day by day, this army of unemployed continues to tramp, a ragged, dirty, homeless, body of human beings, once men but now almost beasts, a living, tramping indictment of our industrial system.

Let us examine this army for one moment; let us see where they come from. Is it from choice that they tramp from town to town, from city to city, forced to seek refuge from the night winds in box cars, hay lofts or the police station, to emerge at the dawn of day and take up again their unceasing march to God only knows where? No, it is not from choice. It is because they are forced, by the inhuman, insane and criminal competitive system under which we live, out of the mills, factories and workshops into the army of the unemployed.

Let us look for a moment at the process by which tramps are manufactured. Take as an example this man who was a shoemaker, perhaps. He had employment for a few months in the year; saved a few dollars possibly, but not very likely, as the wages he received were so small that he could do no more than keep square with the world. We will allow that he is an exception to the rule and has saved a few dollars—when, suddenly, he finds himself out of work. His shop must close down for some reason, or some one has come and taken his job at less money, or perhaps he has had the manhood to take part in some labor movement and dared to assert that he is still a man with honest convictions and the courage to stand up for them—and is discharged for it. What does he do? He goes cheerfully over to the next factory, thinking he will find work there. The foreman tells him that he has all the help required. Less hopefully he goes to the next factory, and then to the next, and so on until he has visited them all and found no chance to work. Then comes the time when he must bid good-bye to wife and children, and start for some neighboring shoe centre, in the hope that he will surely find something to do there, and telling his family that he will send for them just as soon as he earns money enough. Vain hope! The same condition meets him there. He finds hundreds of men already before the factory doors for a chance to work. His heart begins to fail him, but he continues to search, only to be turned away with the same old cry: "We have all the help we want!" With the tears welling up as he thinks of his little ones left behind, he takes to the road. His money is all gone, and also his hope of finding employment. On and on he tramps; until he is ready to faint from hunger. Then he approaches the back door of some house and begs for a morsel to eat. The door is shut in his face; and at the next place he tries the dog is set upon him. And thus he goes on and on, kicked, scoffed at, buffeted about, losing all courage, all manhood. He tries no longer to find work; he gives up all hope of meeting loved ones again. He is a tramp.

I assert that every man has a right to work, and that he has sole right to the fruits of his toil; and more, that the industrial system under which even one man is denied these rights is criminal and should be relegated to oblivion.

But, you say, "how are you going to

remedy this? All this may be true that you have been telling us, but what are you going to do about it?" I will tell you, my friends.

We Socialists are not here to attack old institutions without offering some other method of doing business. We simply ask that the people should organize their industrial machinery, and substitute a co-operative system of production for the competitive system now in vogue.

Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution must be substituted for private ownership. The people, in order to enjoy the industrial freedom, must own and operate in their entirety the machinery of production. We have political equality by virtue of owning the political machinery. We can have economic and industrial equality, when we are wise enough to own and operate in our collective capacity the means by which that which ministers to the wants of humanity is produced.

So long as a few individuals are allowed to get possession of the land, mines, factories and other sources of production, just so long will we be in economic slavery. Let us examine our present method of production for a moment and then I will show you the plan I believe must be adopted.

You all know that one or two individuals own the factory in which you are employed. You know that they are constantly introducing improved machines, which are taking the places of men. The machines are doing the work, while the men displaced are becoming tramps. The machine, while privately owned, is a curse, but when owned by the people will become a blessing. Under the present system, when a new machine is introduced, a certain number of men are turned out into the streets to hunt for other work; but wherever they may go they will find the same conditions existing. The introduction of labor-saving machinery is going on steadily, until to-day we can, with the machinery in use in the shoe industry, manufacture shoes enough in six months to supply our markets for one year. During the other six months, shoemakers have to stand around in idleness while they and their children want for the necessities of life. Now imagine for a moment that you are living under a Socialistic government. Take as an illustration one of our modern shoe factories. It would be owned by the people. Along comes some inventive genius with a new machine that would do the work of ten men. The machine would be placed in operation by the manager; but, instead of ten men being turned out of employment as would be the result at present, we would say to all employed in the factory "you will not be required to work so many hours a day now. Jim has invented a machine which lessens the amount of labor required to produce our shoes, and the working day will be shortened in proportion." In this manner every one would derive the benefit of modern invention. Our hours of labor would be reduced every time a labor-saving machine was invented and introduced, and we would produce just as many shoes as at present.

The number of hours of labor required to produce all things needful for the necessities of life would be constantly decreasing, until we reach the point which the United States Commissioner of Labor says can be reached, when four hours of labor a day would be all that would be required to produce all the necessities of life, and the luxuries as well. You will say that this looks nice, but that is impossible—a dream. You will say that it can never come, that human nature is selfish and will have to be changed before any scheme like that can be adopted, which would make the brotherhood of man a reality.

My friends, every move in the onward march of progress met the same cry, and yet the course of progress was not stayed. One year ago a man would have been considered a dreamer if he had predicted that Haverhill would, at the next election, elect a Socialist mayor. Yet it did happen, and human nature has not changed to any appreciable extent in Haverhill so far as I can discover. We have those there who are rather inclined to believe that it is no "dream," but a nightmare.

It is a fact that millions who once had a grip on a home, now have a grip on nothing—not even a job. And that fact will bring the industrial revolution of Socialism.

# THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Its Great Historic Mission as an Economic-Political Organization.

BY G. A. HOEHN.

Yes, the time has come for action. Freedom's voice is heard at last. Calling to the sleeping nations—Mammon's millions stand aglow—And the people's foes shall vanish Like dry leaves before the blast.

1.

**S**RANGE! That a nation must run through such a labyrinth of trouble," exclaimed noble Thomas Paine, "and that it must expend such a mass of wealth to gain the wisdom which one hour's reflection might have taught."

Every true social reformer fully understands the author of the above lines. One hour's reflection might teach the millions of American wage-workers that to them the highly praised liberty of this republic is a mere fata morgana; that liberty without bread, without the means of living, is a farce and a lie.

Bread is freedom, freedom is bread!

This was undoubtedly also the opinion of the fathers of our American Republic when, on July 4th, 1776, they solemnly proclaimed to the world:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:

1. That all men are born equal;  
2. That they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights;

3. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;

4. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;

5. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

If the principles in the American Declaration of Independence are true—and who ventures to assert that they are not?—we must ask ourselves: Where are the inalienable rights of 75 per cent of our people? Where are the impoverished wealth-producer's rights to a decent living? Has our governmental machinery not become destructive of the people's life, liberty and general welfare? Is it not time that we abolish the present government and institute such administration of our public affairs, with such underlying principles as will most assuredly guarantee the people's safety and happiness?

The main principle underlying such a new system of government must be the economic emancipation of mankind: the abolition of the murderous system of wage slavery, and the introduction of a co-operative system of production and distribution.

II.

It is impossible to fully comprehend the great importance of the Social Democratic movement, and to fully realize the absolute necessity thereof, without knowing the causes that have produced it. In order to clearly understand its aims and objects we must know the economic history of our country.

At the time of the Revolution, America was mainly an agricultural country. Modern machinery was unknown. Chattel slavery was generally recognized, and so-called "free labor" almost unknown. There were but few manufacturing establishments where a great number of men were employed; all the work was done by hand. The tailor, the shoemaker, the joiner, the weaver, etc.—all of them were their own employers.

Thus it can easily be seen that a wage working class did not exist at that time, for every journeyman had a good chance to become a master-mechanic, to be his own employer.

The American revolution not only freed our continent from British feudalism, but it also cleared the way for modern capitalist produc-

tion and wage slavery. Every student of our country's history is acquainted with the fact that King George prevented the colonial manufacturers from sending their woolen goods, hats, iron wares, etc., from one colony to another, the object being to compel the colonies to do most of their trading with England, and thus make them still more tributary to the king and his British manufacturers.

Naturally the colonial manufacturers became the most restless agitators against the rule of King George, because their interests were directly affected by this rule. Every free development of their legitimate business was checked, and they left no stone unturned to get rid of such embarrassing restrictions.

With the victory of the Revolution the economic arena was prepared for the free development of capitalist production. The colonial manufacturers were no longer restricted by any laws; they manufactured as much as they pleased and sold their goods in any part of the colonies wherever they could find a market.

During the early part of the 19th century the steam-engine came more into general use, revolutionizing the old manufacturing system and creating the system of modern industrial production. With the introduction of the steam-engine labor-saving machinery began its historic mission of revolutionizing the whole human society. The struggle between human labor and machine labor began.

III.

While, under the old system of production, where every worker could own his own tools—his means of production—and be his own boss, or where a manufacturer could employ only a limited number of men, the concentration and monopolization of the means of production was impossible, it was quite different under the capitalist industrial system. The application of the steam engine, and of labor-saving machines, demands that production be carried on in gigantic proportions. Thousands and ten-thousands of men are employed in one establishment as serfs of one man or corporation, working for wages since they can no longer own their means of production—the tools. In the process of the industrial evolution these men have been expropriated, i. e., they have been deprived of their tools, and thereby forced into serfdom—wage slavery.

Under the old system people produced for use mainly. Under capitalism the production is carried on for profit only. The very moment production ceases to yield profit for the capitalist, the workers are thrown on the street, free to enjoy the freedom of starvation. This modern capitalist system, in less than a hundred years, has brought about a division of society into two classes:

1. The class of capitalists, small in number, owning all the means of production, consequently also the means of life.  
2. The class of wage workers, owning nothing but their labor power which they must sell to the capitalist in order to live; this class comprises the majority of the people.

The middle class—the small manufacturers and dealers—is being wiped from the face of the earth; while a few of these middle class people may yet succeed in "climbing up the golden stairs" of capitalism, the rest of their colleagues will tread the thorny path of ruin and bankruptcy and become a part of the vast army of the wage-slaving proletariat. No god can save them; no power on earth can prevent their horrible, deplorable journey. It is the iron law of the economic development.

Necessarily, there must be an everlasting conflict between the class of labor-exploiters and the class of the exploited, the wage

workers, because their class interests are just as diametrically opposed to each other as the interests of the highway robber and the man who is being robbed. The result of the two conflicting interests is a kind of civil war, a class struggle. The capitalists are ever eagerly endeavoring to extract as much profit out of the bones and muscles and sinews of their wage slaves as possible, while the latter, in order to save their lives, resist and demand better conditions of living. Hence the conflict.

Capitalism itself, by forcing hundreds and thousands of people into one factory, takes the initiatory step towards organizing the wage-workers. As the organization of the capitalists is constantly extended and strengthened, so the organization of the wage workers is rapidly growing in numbers and strength.

While the capitalist class is organizing local national and international trusts, pools and syndicates, thus concentrating and increasing its power of resistance, the wage-working class, by this very increased power of capitalist resistance, are compelled to organize into local, national and international unions, in order to protect themselves against the encroachments of capitalism.

IV.

During the last fifty years of this century our country has passed through an industrial revolution such as the world has never before witnessed. Like a tornado capitalism has swept over the continent, breaking down the barriers that prevented its free development, and tearing out the very roots of all middle class conditions. The proud, independent mechanic, the middle class manufacturer and merchant, the middle class farmer, all have had to make room for the modern capitalist, the king of industry and commerce.

Agriculture itself has become a branch of capitalist industry, where in the division of labor is being carried out with as much advantage for capitalism as in factories and workshops. Our farmers, formerly the economic backbone of our nation, have been reduced to a vast army of bankrupt "free American citizens," or have been forced into the industrial reserve army.

Prior to the civil war chattel slavery played an important role in agriculture. Owing to the capitalist development, to the unavoidable expropriation of middle class people and the consequent increase of the "free" wage working class, "free labor" had become so cheap, that it did not pay, in many cases, to employ slave labor. In the industrially more or less developed Northern States the capitalists were opposed to chattel slavery, because they failed to see any profit in it. In the exclusively agricultural South, slave-labor, of course, was still profitable.

The capitalists of the North, who so "generously" advocated the emancipation of the black slaves, were by no means better than the slave baron of the South. Exceptions only confirm the rule. To the capitalist, chattel slavery meant a restriction, inasmuch as the emancipation of the negro slaves opened to him a first class "free labor" market.

As stated before, the object of capitalism is by no means to buy slaves, because this would carry with it the obligation to support the slaves; no, the capitalist buys only the labor power of the slaves for hours, days or weeks, and cares not a particle whether the price paid for such labor power suffices to feed the slave or not.

It is a great mistake to believe that the Civil War was forced to an issue by the overwhelming power of Christian sentiment or by the general aversion to chattel slavery. No such thing. Chattel slavery had become incompatible with the new industrial system, and it had to go. Anti-slavery was not only preached on the public squares and in the abolitionist halls, but in the counting-houses and business offices of capitalism.

The plutocratic chattel slave barons of the South and the plutocratic wage slave barons of the North, fully conscious of their class interests, came into open conflict. A brave heroic nation sent her best sons to the battle-fields of Bull

Run, Gettysburg, Antietam, and with the life-blood of 600,000 men wrote the final order: "Chattel slavery shall no more be!"

And how many of the capitalist patriots found in the bloody Civil War a Klondike! The blood that was flowing in the South fertilized the fields of profit for Northern capitalism.

The great French Revolution cleared the road for the triumphal chariot of European capitalism; the great American Civil War removed the last important obstacles from the final triumph of American capitalism.

V.

The Civil War is over; chattel slavery abolished; the slave barons lost the game; twelve hundred million dollars of their property gone; labor is "free," free to make "free contracts" with capitalism, free to sell its commodity of labor power to the highest bidder in the competitive market. What a happy future for the nation!

Prosperity! prosperity everywhere! Oh, how beneficially effective is such a bloody civil war—for capitalism, of course!

Like mushrooms after the rain-storm so capitalist production grew and prospered after the anti-slavery war. Railroads and factories were built, mines opened in all parts of the country; new machinery was introduced; prosperity everywhere. For about eight or nine years the commodity of labor power was rather scarce, owing to the extraordinarily strong demand caused by the capitalist boom. Wages, consequently, were better than ever before, and the average wage-slave was apt to believe that this prosperous state of affairs would last forever.

During this period millionaires grew up over night by the thousands. In 1873 however the first cry of alarm was heard: "Over-production!"

The era of prosperity had suddenly ceased. A general industrial crisis was the consequence. Factories and mines were closed, thousands of men out of work; failures in business, bankruptcy, ruin, despair. Conditions grew worse from year to year. The number of unemployed wage-workers, the so-called industrial reserve army, has been growing ever since, until to-day there are perhaps five million people without work. Gigantic strikes and lock-outs accompanied by scenes of civil war, are in progress during all seasons of the year. The industrial crisis has become permanent.

Like dry leaves before the blast our middle class people are being industrially and commercially annihilated, and the process of pauperization is merrily progressing among the masses of wage workers. The history of the last ten years is the history of a series of class struggles the like of which have never been recorded before, in this or any other country.

It is a picture of horror that presents itself to us: Here in this most fertile country on earth, where over 200 million people might find the means to live in plenty and happiness, we see half of the 70 million inhabitants on the verge of starvation! And this is not because our people have not produced enough, but because they have produced too much! because there is an overproduction of everything in the way of food, clothing and shelter!

VI.

In view of these deplorable conditions every true friend of humanity must ask the question: What is to be done? How can our people be saved from degeneration and ruin?

The organized wage workers of this country have made a noble fight against the powers of capitalism during the last decade. Many a hot battle has been fought. Many a victory has been gained. But these victories of labor in the economic field compare very unfavorably with the victories of capitalism in the political field. The capitalist class has gained absolute control of the entire legislative, judicial and executive machinery of this great Republic. By means of this powerful apparatus it has obtained absolute possession of the land and all the means of production. By legislative means it has accelerated the process of the con-

centration of the nation's wealth into the hands of a comparatively small number of men, while nine-tenths of the people have been disfranchised, expropriated, pressed down into a cesspool of the direst misery whence there is no escape.

To-day the class struggle is on in full force in the economic field. The Social Democratic party desires that this struggle be extended to the political field and that there, in the political arena, the final decisive battle be fought for the emancipation of mankind from slavery. We cannot hide the fact that the present war between capitalism and labor is a class struggle; but every class struggle is necessarily a political struggle. Is it not a fact that in all our present labor troubles capitalism is making the best possible use of all political powers at its command? The lawbreaker, the judge, the militia, the sheriff, the police, in short, all political mercenaries are ordered to the field of battle to fight the giant of labor who is still unconscious of his own power.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to lead in this great struggle for the emancipation of mankind. The millions of wage workers will constitute the rank and file of our great army of emancipation; by their irresistible power the glorious banner of Social Democracy will be victorious; and the capitalist system of production, i. e., production for profit at the risk of many millions of human lives, will be abolished. Social Democracy demands that the land and all the means of production and distribution be restored to the people as a collective body, that production be carried on for use only, and that the profit system by which one man may be enabled to subjugate his fellowmen, be entirely eliminated.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to organize the wage working proletariat of this country under its flag into a powerful political party. It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to conquer the political power of this country, effect the necessary economic and social transformations, and bring about a universal co-operative system of production that will guarantee to every man, woman and child the right to enjoy life, freedom and happiness.

It is the mission of the Social Democratic party to realize the principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence, principles which are still a mere dream at the close of the 19th century.

## Labouchere's Parody

ON RUDYARD KIPLING'S POEM.

**P**ILE on the brown man's burden  
To gratify your greed;  
Go clear away the niggers  
Who progress would impede;  
Be very stern, for truly  
'Tis useless to build  
With new caught, sulky peoples,  
Half devil and half child.

Pile on the brown man's burden;  
And if you rouse his hate,  
Meet his old-fashioned reasons  
With maxims up to date,  
With shells and dum-dum bullets  
A hundred times make plain  
The brown man's loss must ever  
Imply the white man's gain.

Pile on the brown man's burden;  
Compel him to be free;  
Let all your manifestos  
Ring with philanthropy;  
And with heathen folly  
He dares your will dispute,  
Then in the name of freedom  
Don't hesitate to shoot.

Pile on the brown man's burden,  
And if his cry be sore,  
That surely need not irk you—  
You've driven slaves before.  
Seize on his ports and pastures,  
The field his people tread;  
Go make from them your living,  
And mark them with his dead.

Pile on the brown man's burden,  
Nor do not deem it hard  
If you should earn the rancor  
Of those ye yearn to guard;  
The screaming of your eagle  
Will drown the victim's sob—  
Go on through fire and slaughter,  
There's dollars in the job.

Pile on the brown man's burden,  
And through the world proclaim  
That ye are freedom's agents—  
There's no more paying game;  
And should your own past history  
Straight in your teeth be thrown,  
Nerfot that independence  
Is good for white alone.

Pile on the brown man's burden,  
With equity have done;  
Weak, antiquated scruples  
Their squeamish course have run.  
And though 'tis freedom's banner,  
You're waving in the van,  
Reserve for home consumption  
The sacred "rights of man!"

And if by chance you falter,  
Or lag along the course,  
If the blood flows freely,  
Ye feel some slight remorse,  
Hie ye to Rudyard Kipling,  
Imperialism's prop,  
And bid him, for your comfort,  
Turn on his Jinga stop!

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD

## DESTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL TRUSTS.

[From the New York Journal.]

THE trust, meaning co-operation, combination of maximum production with minimum cost, is a most striking, permanent and valuable feature of the world's progress.

The fight against it is as unwise, foolish and hopeless as was the battle against labor-saving machinery. It will not and should not be won. If it is the trust of the future.

But the trust of to-day, accurately described, is a conspiracy against the public welfare. It is a combination to monopolize production and strangle competition, to combine the cheapest cost of production with the highest selling price, and to take from the people all the benefits of improved machinery and methods.

Against such trusts the law is helpless, dead. It exists to suppress the trust, and the trust owns and controls it.

When the trust shall make competition merely unprofitable, competition need not complain. Its loss will be the people's gain.

But the trust that makes competition impossible is the public enemy, and such is the trust of to-day.

The most important fight of the people, this year and for a long time to come, must be the anti-trust fight.

The cause of reformed currency may be important.

But what good can it do to have the right kind of money if you allow a few trusts to get all of it—gold, silver or paper?

Civilized peoples live somewhat after this fashion.

The great majority work, and the work of one man is exchanged for the work of another—money acting as a medium, us "counters."

In addition to those who work, a few who are cunning, the so-called "educated" or "superior," manage to live on the work of others.

These cunning members are not useless—on the contrary, they are the most useful men in the community. They devise new methods, they organize and combine and economize. They invent, they are the bosses, and their opportunity comes to them from two sources—first from free fields of competition, second from a scale of wages enabling the willing and industrious to get ahead.

There is a third class—the hereditary lazy class. This anomalous aggregation of worthlessness lives on the accumulation of cunning dead and buried.

But hitherto dissipation and idleness have wiped out the idle class fast enough to keep it from being important.

Now comes a new element, the application of the force of inert capital to control all fields of activity.

A million men work on the railroads—a few men own the roads, the number of owners grows daily smaller.

So many thousands produce refined sugar—all profit goes to a few men.

So many thousands produce tobacco—the profit goes to a tobacco trust.

For every great field of industry a trust exists or is coming.

The individual with his single ability has no longer the chance of olden times. He fights, not against an individual like himself, but against the power of organized capital.

The inevitable result must be, of course, the division of the nation into two classes—a small class of employers and a vast class of employed.

There is no necessity of getting greatly excited over it. The thing to do is to investigate the probable result quietly and to wonder how long it will take for the disease to run its course.

Of course, the trust programme once perfected, will soon cease to exist. Education and the American tendency to vary justice with

lynching makes prolonged injustice impossible.

The general trust growth, in fact, will probably do great good—although that is no excuse for failing to fight the present criminal tendency as it develops.

Trusts perfected impress on all the folly of the stupid competitive system, of the cut-throat scramble for a living, which decent management would assure to all on a decent basis.

The trusts will never be dissolved, industry will never go back to its primitive individual competitive condition. But the trusts will become national, the profits will become national, and the great saving of labor will mean leisure for the citizen to study, think, recreate and be a man.

Of course, this approaches, hideous, red-eyed Socialism. The mere fact that no man has ever amounted to anything unless he had a chance to be partially idle is no argument—yet—in favor of giving reasonable idleness to all.

But it will be an argument some day. The common, low-down citizen will take a dislike eventually to the superior citizen who says to him: "You work; you are common and fit for that. It is for me, the superior, to enjoy thought and leisure."

The conservative reader asks:

"What! Would you take away from the race the necessary slavery of common toil? Don't you know you would ruin the masses if you gave them leisure?"

True, just now. But as fast as the masses become as well educated as you are—which is not so very well educated—they will be as capable of enjoying leisure without excess as you are.

Watch the trusts. Fight them when it comes to voting, for fight them you must, since eventually the men who own them must be treated as pirates are treated usually. The owner of a trust, the manager of a trust, holds in slavery both man's necessities and his labor. Such a person must be done away sooner or later.

But just as commerce and civilization to-day are indebted to the early pirates who did so much to advance the world's growth and acquaintance with itself, so the civilization of the future will be indebted to the trust pirates of to-day and of future years. Eventually it may be necessary to hang a good many to stamp out the breed. But this will have taught the value of economy in production, of combination and specialization in labor.

The man of the future will work for about three hours a day, perhaps less, at manual labor. He will enjoy the work, and the rest of his time will go to other and more important things—thought, discussion, music and plain "having fun."

Much will be owed to the trusts, which will blaze the way and show that a few, properly managed, can do the work of many and enable the many to enjoy freedom from slavery.

But the many before that happy time comes will feel lack of work badly needed, lack of food amid plenty—and there is going to be trouble, brethren, and the lot of a trust controller when settling day comes will not be pleasant.

### MEDITATIONS OF MARTIN DOOLEY.

#### On the Subject of Trusts.

"Well, well," said Mr. Hennessey, "I wonder when this here form in iv trusts 'll stop? I've been an alternate to five aldermanic convictions when they was denounced, but they're stronger than ever, an' are stranglin' tb' liberties in our country, be havin' day be day. What th' divvle arre they, anyhow?"

"A trust," said Mr. Dooley, "is an illegal combination to rayjoose prices. 'Tis to prevent foolish people from spendin' too much money. A lot of raypublicans is in th' same business, an' says wan iv them: 'Behold,' he says, 'the

suffrin iv th' poor,' he says, 'Ivry where they tur-rrn, he says, 'they're overcharged,' he says, 'be cormorants in human form,' he says. 'Tis our jooty,' he says, 'as humane men, 'fr to combine,' he says, 'fr to destroy th' rapacious crather,' he says, 'that ar-re gr-rindin' th' faces off th' poor,' he says, 'an' do th' wurruk oursilves,' he says. 'If they're any grindin' to be done,' he says, 'lave th' poor come ar-round an' poke their noses into a first class im-ery wheel, instead iv bein' polished be little two-fr-a-cent grin stones all over th' countrry,' he says.

"We'll be abused," he says, 'an' populist, an arnychis'll denounce us as inimies iv civilization,' he says, 'but in our holy wurruk we must ixpect such treatment,' he says. 'Look at me,' he says. 'Be destroyin' competition, I, with th' help iv th' good Lord, an' th' railroads, an' tb' state in New Jersey, have rayjooced th' price iv ile so a poor men can have an explosion to-dy for three cents that, when I was a hoy, be cudent buy fr any money,' he says. 'I'm a benefactor iv me kind,' he says. 'An' if they're not manny iv me kind,' he says, 'tis no fault iv mine,' he says. 'I've helped tb' poor. I've give dividends to th' three partners I mentioned. Wan iv them gets its fees,' he says, 'th' other gets its freight,' he says, 'an' to th' third,' he says, have I put up a colledge,' he says, 'fr to prove that a Baptist,' he says, 'can mix up with the ile business an' not go broke,' he says. 'Still I'm not appreciated be me countrry,' he says. 'They call me octopus,' he says, 'an' a plutocrat,' he says. 'But,' he says, 'I parsavere in th' good wurruk,' he says. 'Lave us never mind tb' assails iv th' ungodly,' he says, 'but in th' intrests iv th' poor destroy th' hellish competition that is grajuly,' he says, 'roonin' th' widow and th' orphan with high-priced prunes,' he says. 'An' so the prune trust is formed.

"Fr meself, Hinnissy, I can't make out if a trust is a good thing or a bad thing. McKenna says 'tis a good thing because it rayjooces th' price. Schwartzmeister, that belongs to th' Arbeiter bowlin' club, says 'tis the natheral way ivrything is goin'. Ye think 'tis stranglin' our fair land, 'an' so does th' whole William J. O'Brien Lithry an' Mar-rechin Club. But to me it looks like jus' th' diff'rence between a man bein' robbed be wan strong-arm man at a time, an' bein' searched be twenty. A la-ad at th' mills gets his month's pay and goes down to Halfstead street an' has a tub iv beer an' some wan lifts his watch. On his way home a pickpocket gets his pin; thin a strong-arm boy at Deerin' street holds him up for his money. At his durstep two or three young an' inexperienced robbers throw him down an' take the shoes off his feet. Now, if twas a trust, if these here competin' merchants was to combine an' meet th' la-ad at the start, they end strip him clean as a bone an' lave nothin' fr tb' loathsome and dismited competitors up th' street. They'd be strong in if to do business in spite iv th' polis; they'd have no thrubble in bein' incorporayted in New Jersey, where th' green goods comes fr'm, an' they end prove to anny intilligent man that 'tis better to be skinned early an' be th' latest methods thun to trust th' job to a lot iv rough-an-tumblers, without capital, an' not havin' th' intrests iv tb' countrry at stake."

"An' what ar-re th' poor la-ad up th' street goin' to do?" asked Mr. Hennessy, whose democratic sympathies were instantly aroused by the misfortunes of the crushed footpads. "They're goin' to wurruk fr th' Burghers' thrust," said Mr. Dooley. "Each iv them that's a good mechanic'll be given a piece of lead pipe an' a woolen sock, an' tol' to go out an' increase th' comfort iv th' poor. Th' street cars'll give them rayjooced rates to thravel from wan dark alley to another, an' th' council 'll pass an' ordhance probibiting any wan fr'm importin' sandbags end jimmies into th' city. Afther awhile a man can be robbed as aisly in his own house as in an alley. That's what the trust will do. It will so."

—Chicago Journal.

## Social Democratic Party Platform

### DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

### DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

### S.D.P. AND TRADES UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we command an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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—BY THE—  
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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, FEB. 25, 1899.

## EDITOR'S TIME SAVERS.

READER, BOSTON.—The names you want can be obtained at the City Clerk's office, Boston.

J. W. H.—No; no reply has been received from the Haverhill Gazette; we stand ready to carry out that program with any capitalistic sheet in the land.

M. W.—You will see by reference to the columns this week that the matter has already been taken up by the Kansas City Branch. The question is open for discussion.

J. H. W.—Such pictures as you desire can only be satisfactorily produced by engaging an artist to work out your ideas in India ink sketches from which a photographer could make plates.

B. S.—For information concerning the organization of branches, etc., address the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

J. C. E.—To deprecate and sneer of political action and yet endeavor to appropriate a share in the "glory" of a political success, is, to say the least, not indicative of the absence of that quality.

## A FRAUDULENT INTERVIEW.

The desperation of the democratic party in Chicago is shown by their resorting to fraud and lying misrepresentation in order to deceive the people, to the attempted injury of the Social Democratic party. There appears in the Chicago Chronicle of February 20th a pretended interview with Comrade Seymour Stedman, the secretary of the Executive Board, in which the interviewer makes him say among other things, "there may be considerations arising in the mayoralty campaign, which would make it advisable or expedient for many Social Democrats to give hearty support to any good democrat heading the regular party ticket." The alleged interview further represents Comrade Stedman, as being an old time democrat whose democracy is simply mixed with Socialism.

Comrade Stedman promptly repudiated the interview, and says that he was not interviewed by any one on the subject.

Social Democrats should pay no heed to anything appearing in capitalist papers in regard to the Social Democratic party or its members. It is the interest of the capitalist politicians to misrepresent our party in every possible way. And even though the managing editors of the newspapers may be disposed to treat our party fairly, they cannot, of course, know whether all the reports sent in to them are true or false; and the enemies of our party can easily get matter regarding our party into these papers which is utterly false.

The Chicago comrades have nominated a ticket, and are working hard to secure the 6,000 signatures necessary to place the names of their candidates on the official ballot.

## As Others See Us.

Leon Fuentner, a wealthy Swiss merchant traveling in this country, has given some of the results of his observations to a California newspaper man:

"The United States is looked upon all over Europe with great admiration and respect. I find much here that disa points me. It is true that nine out of ten families find it hard to make both ends meet.

Rents, interest, taxes, high-priced clothing and other necessities make it essential for your middle and lower classes to labor almost from the cradle to the grave. Your Rockefeller gives a million dollars to a Baptist college and then raises the price of coal oil and gets his million back out of the pockets of the people. Your Mr. Stanford founds a university, and follows Mr. Rockefeller's example by charging all the traffic will bear.

In the eastern cities and states hundreds freeze to death with mountains of wealth in sight. You must admit that you have a curious kind of a republic."

## COMPETITIVE WASTE.

By F. G. R. GORDON.

I estimate that nine-tenths of the energy exerted to-day is utterly wasted. We don't begin to realize this tremendous waste until we investigate the subject.

Millions upon millions of days labor are required because of this gigantic waste.

Waste is that which we could better do without than with, that produces nothing useful, and requires a tremendous amount of labor. Paradoxical as it may seem, however, waste is a good thing under capitalism. It gives employment to many that would otherwise be unemployed. We can truly say of the capitalist system, the more we waste and the more we destroy the better off we are.

Just one illustration will prove this: Suppose by some chemical process I was able to destroy one-half of all the boots and shoes made in this nation, what would be the result? I would be the means of giving employment to at least 50,000 unemployed shoemakers; and further it would have a tendency to increase the wages of all shoemakers. Hence a blessing!

Waste can only be called a curse when we call the capitalist system a curse. Of course we all understand that under Socialism all that is not reckoned waste would be saved and this saving is a very much larger sum than most of us have even guessed.

Competition is not only a gigantic financial waste but it is also a tremendous mental waste, a competitive brain struggle that shortens the life of the average man engaged in it by at least ten years. Because of this struggle, too, men are committing suicides, going crazy and degenerating, increasing crime of every kind.

Competition is the mother of adulteration and adulteration is a crime that kills hundreds every year. Let us glance at some of the financial wastes:

Geo. Rowell and Sons the owners and editors of Printers Ink, published in New York City and devoted to the advertising business, recently stated editorially that

there were one thousand firms in

New York City that spent \$1,000,

000 each annually for advertising

or \$1,000,000,000. This is over

three million dollars per day count-

ing every working day in the year

expended by these one thousand

firms. There are in this nation

over one million firms that do

more or less advertising. And if

these one thousand firms in New

York City do one-tenth of all the

advertising done in the nation, then

our loss due to this waste alone

would be the astonishing sum of

thirty million dollars per day!

The advertising business furnishes employment to one-half or two-thirds of all the printers in this nation; it employs an army of carpenters, paperhangers, bill-posters, gilders, mechanics, lithographers, solicitors, collectors, etc., etc., and all of them non-producers. If we take into consideration the direct and indirect waste from this source the losses can not be less than \$20,000,000 per day.

The waste of distribution is equal to the advertising waste, if we reckon on the commercial drummers which alone costs several million dollars per day. In the city of Boston there are three hundred dry goods stores, over 500 shoe stores, nearly 1200 grocery stores and several

thousand other stores, where a single one under Socialism would suffice. One great department store with eight branches would supply Boston under Socialism just as well as one post office and a few branch offices now supply Boston with postal accommodation. Under Socialism we will save the labor of 400,000 out of 550,000 clerks now employed. The 150,000 clerks working four hours a day under a scientific system of distribution will accomplish more than the entire 550,000 do to-day. The 89,000 lawyers together with their 75,000 clerks are a total waste and cost the nation not less than \$2,000,000 a day. Life and fire insurance are a total waste. The fire insurance premiums paid by the nation in 1889 was \$211,424,242 and the net premium income of the life insurance companies for 1889 was \$140,375,514, a total for both of \$351,799,756. This vast sum together with the wasted labor of thousands of insurance agents, capital invested, rents, advertising, etc., etc., foot up the enormous sum of over \$900,000,000 annually, every penny of which would be saved under ideal Socialism.

The loss due to enforced idleness is tremendous. The army of the unemployed is variously estimated as from two to four millions. Call it two million. It is estimated by some writers that our wealth productiveness is equal to \$10.50 per worker per day. Let us call it \$5 per day. Here there is a loss to the nation of the gigantic sum of ten millions dollars a day. Again by reason of strikes, lockouts, shutdowns and failures the regularly employed are forced into idleness one-tenth of the working time, a further total loss of two billion dollars annually, or over six million dollars per day.

The economic waste due to the liquor traffic reaches over two million dollars per day, nearly all of which would be saved by the Socialization of that business. The economic waste due to the unscientific way of farming is tremendous. All of our cereal crops and nearly all vegetable crops can be raised with the use of modern labor-saving machinery.

The immense saving due to a sensible and scientific farming method would equal one-half of our present agricultural wealth production, or more than four million dollars per day. Then think of the economic waste in every branch of industry. In the above eight items of waste the loss foots up the gigantic sum of sixty-seven million dollars per day or nearly a dollar a day for every man, woman and child in the nation. And all this on only eight out of a hundred of items of economic waste.

How men will struggle for wealth, how they will suffer the pangs of cold of the Klondike, the burning sands of the desert, the wild storms of old ocean all for gold, gold, gold. If we will struggle as hard for the Co-operative Commonwealth we can all win a fortune within ten years.

### Debs' Work in Michigan.

Michigan Labor Herald:—"Nothing less than the word marvelous can properly describe the results of Eugene V. Debs' lecture tour in this state. If the labor organizations had united in one supreme effort to give trades unionism a boom and had sent out a half a dozen speakers for a months campaign, it could not have resulted in such an awakening of interest. Mr. Debs put our cause before thousands who could not have been called out by any other living man. On every hand we now hear middle class people speaking in warm support of the labor movement. Unionism has suddenly been put in good standing with a class whose sympathy is most desirable and whose influence on public opinion is very great."

Prof. Geo. D. Herron began a series of lectures last Sunday at Chicago. He is to deliver twenty-four addresses as follows: On eight successive Sunday mornings at McVicker's theatre; eight Sunday evenings at Central Music hall, and eight Monday noons at the latter place.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

## Puckerbrush Alliance.



R. Debs and all the rest of you:—Say, where did you's fellers get my photograft? I'll bet that sum of them town chaps snapped me with one of them kodink machines when I was down to the street fair last fall, cause the pitcher shows me dressed up just as I was that day. The fellers about here is latin about it, but I just bet sum of em is gelus, but such is life without Socialism. "If you can't be great be notorious"—Timothy 10:16—in the back part where the leaves is tore out. But I want it understand that I aint payin nothin to have it put in, for I aint no preacher, nor play actor, nor office seaker.

Well, to our last meetin we had a visitor by the name of Davy Pins. He's a railroad feller and a Socialist. He give us a darn intercisin talk. He knows whats them after with Hamner, and I put down sum things he sed, which is:

"In 1893 there was in operation in the U. S. 177,485 miles of railroad, employing a total of 873,902 people. In 1896 there was in operation 182,900 miles of road, or 5,115 miles more than in 1893, but the total number of employees in 1896 was only 826,620, or 46,982 less than in 1893, and yet sum people wonder where tramps is made, and why men wont work." Then I yelled out "Remember the Maine (chance)." "Yes," says Davy, "that is what the railroad magnates is doin to a tyte, while us poor fools is sendin a ralerode lobbyist to kongress frum this district, which is made up of farmers mostly who have lately been votin for any old thing just so long as it would get up on its hind legs and holler for free 16 to 1 silver, which he did as good as a side sho hawk. Spekin about killin people, let me give you sum figgers. The number of railroad men killed in this country between 1890 and 1896 was 15,887, and the number hurt bad enuf to be reported was 187,619, making a total 203,506 killed and hurt," which made me agin yell "Remember the Maine!"

Davy went right on to say "that the most of these axidents was to trainmen makin cuplins and fallin off of cars, both of which could be largely prevented, and would be if the roads was run as they would be under Socialism, and not for profit as they is now. In 1896 there was a total of 162,876 trainmen, and in that year there was 13,056 reported axidents, of which 226 was killed, and 8,457 injured by cupling and uncupling ears; 472 were killed and 3,898 injured by falling from trains. Haven't heard about n-sbody wantin to go to war about this, have you?" "No," says I, "but let us once more 'Remember the Maine!'" and preacher Gard looked like he would like to lick me, anyhow it wusn't what I wud call a Christian look.

Miss Smart, the school teacher, got up and see she had just been lookin over some of her old magazines, and while we was talkin about railroads she would read sumthin from an article printed in the Review of Reviews for Nov 1897, page 587, as follows:

"I do not know that many are aware that the annual freight bill of this country amounts to more than \$800,000,000 a year. It is a tax, and the most burdensome tax that this country knows, upon our industries and upon our production. Its meaning, brought home, is that each family in the United States pays on the average \$60 a year for freight alone. If Commissioner Wright's statistics are correct, that the average income of each laborer in this country is not more than \$500 a year, then each head of a family must set aside on the average the results of a month and a half of toil to pay his share of the freight. There is no Jones to do it here."

"That's what I call a sock doker," says I, "and knocks 16 to 1 into a cocked hat, and it aint open the eyes of sum of youngs who has been hoopin 'er up for the lobbyist you sent to kongress. Why, he can cum at you like George the horse dealer did to me last summer when we was workin the road. He's so big that he's about four feet thru. When he cum up to where we was workin, I sed to him that if he had the belly ache accordin to his size, as hard as I had it last nite, he would die, and he looked at me a minit en sed, "I don't see how a feller as thin as you are kin tell when he has the belly ache or the back ache." There is heaps of fellers in this country as is in the same box.

Then my boy Alexander got up and sed he had sumthin to say on the rale rode business. He's gettin to be a reader like his mammy. He sed: "I expect that sum of yous wonder how the roads can run with less men. Well, I can show one of the ways. Here is a copy of the Scientific American dated Dec. 3, 1898, containing pictures and descriptions of the biggest locomotive ever built. It is to be used on one of the Andy Karnagy roads in Penn. Just to give you an ide let me read from page 356:

"The hauling capacity on a level of 9,650 tons represents a train of 166 box cars loaded with wheat. The total length of such a train would be 5,700 feet, or considerably over a mile, and the wheat would represent, at an average of 15 bushels to an acre, 9,000 acres, or over 14 square miles of land. And this enormous load could be taken over the road, or rather the level portions of it at a comfortable speed of 10 miles an hour. He would have seemed a bold prophet to our forefathers who would have dared to foretell that at the end of this century we would have steam horses that could start away with the products of 14 square miles of the countryside at a load, and do it at a gait faster than that of the local mail coach."

Davy Pins says, "I must get a copy of that paper. You see they will run such a train as that with only a couple more men than it will take to run an ordinary train, of which this will make from four to six or more."

Sam Johnson said he wanted to shiv in a little something he had run onto in the U.S. Consular Reports for Dec. 1898, page 506, in a report from Japan, as follows:

"This portion of the report can not be closed without reference to the quick deliveries which can always be obtained from America. As an instance, English locomotive builders required two years for the delivery of an extensive order, which the Baldwin Locomotive Works turned out at the rate of two a day and shipped the whole quantity within eight or ten weeks. Another case recently occurred where the English time for shipment for five loc. n-tives was ten months and the price about \$12,000 gold delivered in Japan, and American makers offered to ship in fourteen weeks at about \$8000 gold. The same specifications were submitted to both countries."

Preecher Gard looked like he wanted to expand on expansion, but he is gettin' kinder skittish about us Socialists.

I sed: "These machines is what is makin Socialism, we's is only givin the comin thing a name and trying to help it get borned. Yous fellers that is taggin after the dems and reps is just a little ahead of the stage coach, while we is just keepin' out of the way of the big engine, see?"

The meetin closed in good order and everybody wanted to see the pitchers of the big bullgine. When he was going away I herd Davy Pins, "that is a gang of hayseeds that is sproutin," and I gess he is.

Yours to the end  
JONAS HARRISON.

P. S. Your printer fellers made a bull in my last letter, where they give the silver republican credit for the total reform vote, when they is only intiled to credit for wind.

J. H.

What are you doing to increase the HERALD's circulation? There's an opportunity in your town to procure a number of subscribers.

# AMONG THE BRANCHES.

## Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 5c per month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 175 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. Torn, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Olsen's Hall, 63 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, Secretary.

Wisconsin Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 51st street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch No. 1, Wisconsin, meets Ethical Society Building every second and fourth Wednesday of the month. Everybody is welcome.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 754 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7.30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p. m. at 103 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Hale, 1 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, Colville College, 67 Franklin avenue, meets 1st and 3d Thursdays, at 8.30 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 222 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 8 Washington st., 3d floor, Room 5—Louis B. Palevsky, 537 E. 12th st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28th Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1531 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 80th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 p. m., Funkhause, 20th and Josephine sts. President W. Rohr, 244 Addison st., Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 2d and 4th Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutlers Hall, Clark's block, corner of Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 199 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 5th st., Sec.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 5, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 1006 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 5, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 450 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Mullen, 113 Chamber street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monroe streets. Organizer, B. J. Steigerwald, 113 Chamber street.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets. Organizer, Charles F. Moller, 3001 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (2d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 8.30 a. m. at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3224 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 1st and 3d Wednesday, at 8 p. m., corner Jefferson Avenue and Shenandoah street. Organizer, H. Blumer, 2211 S. Broadway.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 366 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3500 St. Ferdinand ave.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

**PROPAGANDA FUND.**

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Haggard W. G.	\$ 10
Konkonow Mrs. M. J.	10
Lynch Jno. J.	10
St. Louis (no name)	10
Madeline Edward	10
Hentschel Emil	10
New York (no name)	10
Horne Geo. W.	10
Somersworth (no name)	10
Barondess Joseph	10
Carberry Wm. J.	10
Porter W. P.	10
Maloney Wm.	10
Terry Haute (no name)	10
Branch 1, Mass.	10
Blodgett C. A.	10
Blake H. W.	10
Luther H.	10
Roper V.	10
Candee Rev. Geo.	10
Lewis J. H.	25
avage T. H.	10
Robert Leonard D.	80
Previously reported	21.00
Total	27.25

Comrade James E. Carey will speak in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Hall, corner Oxford and Washington sts., Lynn, Mass., Sunday, February 26, 12 o'clock noon. All comrades are requested to bring their friends.

\* \* \*

The Brockton Enterprise, referring to a meeting on Sunday evening, Feb. 12, when an address was delivered by Comrade John C. Chase, mayor of Haverhill, says it was the largest Socialist meeting ever held in the city, with the exception of the times when Eugene V. Debs has been the speaker. "Included in the audience," it says, "were many women who listened to the address with as much evident interest and intelligence along the line of Socialistic talk, as the majority of those in whose hands are the right of suffrage."

## A National Convention.

In accordance with the suggestion of Secretary Stedman, of the National Executive Board, Branch of Missouri, at Kansas City, has unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the report of the recent referendum vote shows the necessity of calling a national convention of the Social Democratic Party of America, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a national delegate convention of the party be called to begin Sept. 25, 1893, at St. Louis, Mo., and continue in session as long thereafter as may be necessary.

Resolved, That each branch shall be entitled to at least one delegate to said convention, and for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, over the first hundred, an additional delegate.

Resolved, That before this resolution shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the party it shall be discussed through the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, and if a decided desire be indicated by the members to change the time, place of meeting or basis of representation, such change may be made in this resolution by the National Executive Board before submitting it to a referendum vote.

Adopted and ordered forwarded by Missouri Branch No. 7, Feb. 14, 1893.

Jos. FRANKLIN,

Chairman.

GEO. J. STORZ, Sec.

## A Rousing Meeting.

COMRADE EDITOR:—Mr. Bannister, Secretary of the St. Louis Trades and Labor Council, requested me to attend a meeting to be held at Mount Olive, Ill., on the 17th inst., for the purpose of organizing a "Woman's Union Label League."

Owing to some misunderstanding the time of meeting was not generally known, so the organization of the league was postponed to a future date. The comrades having the matter in hand determined to hold a meeting anyhow. So they lighted up the opera house, got a crowd together and we had a rousing agitation meeting.

They got a straight Social Democratic speech of an hour and a quarter in length; which they liked so well that they gave the speaker a rising vote of thanks and determined to invite her to return and hold a series of meetings in Mount Olive and adjoining towns. The workers are hungry for Socialism and are only waiting to have the truth brought home to them so they can comprehend it.

One of the great needs of the hour is people like the disciples of old, who can go out and preach the gospel of Socialism to the multitude who will hear them gladly.

ANNA F. SMITH.

## Read Equality.

Geo. D. Epps, who polled 1,000 votes as the populist candidate for governor of New Hampshire in 1894, writes as follows:

"Of all that has been written that I have seen, Bellamy's 'Equality' seems to me head and shoulders above everything else. It is the 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' of the day. I wish it could be read and digested by every man, woman and child in the world. He is the modern John the Baptist and his cry will be heard in the near future."

A new and revised edition, better than the old, of Gordon's "Hard Times: Cause and Cure," is now being printed. A good thing to push. A converter. Write to F. G. R. Gordon, Manchester, N. H. for prices on lots."

## Greater New York.

The first meeting of the city central committee of the S. D. P. of New York was held, Sunday, Feb. 12 at 509 E. Broadway. Delegates were present from all the branches of Greater New York, and from Newark, N. J. Mr. Wm. Butcher was elected temporary chairman, Miss Elizabeth H. Thomas, secretary; and Mr. Samuel Weinstock, treasurer; and an order of business was adopted. The delegates reported that all branches had endorsed the action of the conference called to form a city central committee, and recommended various measures for the action of the committee.

Organizer Mailly submitted a report of meetings held and a financial report. A discussion of the measures recommended by the various branches followed, and a ways and means committee was appointed. The officers of the city central committee were instructed to draw up by-laws for the committee and Organizer Mailly was instructed to visit the William Morris Club, and make arrangements for the use of their rooms. The committee then adjourned to meet at the call of the organizer.

E. H. THOMAS.

## St. Louis Notes.

The 9th Ward branch met Feb. 14; decided to hold a series of mass meetings during the present campaign and elected Comrades Putnam, Meier and Mueller as a permanent committee to make the necessary arrangements therefor.

Resolved, That a national delegate convention of the party be called to begin Sept. 25, 1893, at St. Louis, Mo., and continue in session as long thereafter as may be necessary.

Resolved, That each branch shall be entitled to at least one delegate to said convention, and for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, over the first hundred, an additional delegate.

Resolved, That before this resolution shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the party it shall be discussed through the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, and if a decided desire be indicated by the members to change the time, place of meeting or basis of representation, such change may be made in this resolution by the National Executive Board before submitting it to a referendum vote.

Adopted and ordered forwarded by Missouri Branch No. 7, Feb. 14, 1893.

Jos. FRANKLIN,

Chairman.

GEO. J. STORZ, Sec.

## SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM.

It is to be One or the Other Says

Eugene V. Debs to the

"Reformers."

In reply to an invitation to attend a conference of "reformers" with a view to organizing a new "reform" party, Comrade Eugene V. Debs has written the following letter:

R. S. THOMPSON, Esq.,  
(Chairman Union Reform  
Party, Springfield, O.)

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 8th inst., with enclosure has been received: I thank you for the courtesy of the invitation to attend the conference of the Union Reform party with a view to organizing a new national party, but being a Socialist and a member of the Social Democratic party and being profoundly impressed with conviction that only through Socialism is there relief from the ills of capitalism, I am not in favor of such a party as is proposed, which, in the nature of things, must be founded in compromise and cannot long survive the internal dissensions which swept its predecessors from the field and are bound to overwhelm and destroy the new party. It is either Socialism or capitalism—complete freedom or total slavery. I am a Socialist without a shadow of concession or compromise.

Socialism is founded on the rock of truth and while its growth is slower than that of "reform" movements that spring up spontaneously and disappear likewise, it is a sound and permanent development and no power on earth can resist its march to victory.

Apart from Socialism the Initiative and Referendum has little, if any, value. Under capitalism the ignorance of the mass makes it even a dangerous weapon. Had my fate been decided by it in 1894 I would have been hanged for the crime of trying to help humanity.

For these reasons I am a Social Democrat and shall give my support to a straight Socialist party to the exclusion of all other parties, especially those that make concessions and compromises to secure a union of forces.

Yours very truly,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

February 16, 1893.

## Myron W. Reed.

Whereas: "Death has again claimed a shining mark." Humanity has suffered an irreparable shock, Socialism lost an earnest champion in the death of Myron W. Reed.

Whereas: A pioneer, a pathfinder, a reformer, humanitarian and defender of liberty, has reached the end in the road, he still lives and his works remain.

Whereas: For the sake of humanity he martyred himself, emulating the character of the lowly Nazarene by eschewing the power and pomp wealth can give.

Therefore be it resolved by Colorado Branch, in regular session assembled, that we feel the poignancy of the loss of our true friend;

Resolved: that in the demise of this great leader of men the down-trodden and oppressed have suffered a personal loss;

Resolved: That we should, emulate in our dealing with our fellowmen, the sweetness of character and honesty of purpose manifested by our late comrade;

Resolved: That we condole with those who claim relationship by the more sacred ties.

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this branch and that they be published in THE HERALD.

## Debs in the Lecture Field.

New York, N. Y. . . . . March 21  
Aberdeen, S. D. . . . . June 28

Madison, . . . . . 30

Branch 15, Massachusetts, is to hold another public mass meeting in Lyceum Hall, E. Boston, on March 3d, at 7:30 p. m. W. P. Porter will be the speaker. Lemuel C. Kendall will act as chairman. Admission free.

Send in brief reports of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

### CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

#### NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at \_\_\_\_\_, County of \_\_\_\_\_, shall be known as Local Branch No. \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ of the Social Democratic Party of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

#### DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

#### JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

#### ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

#### BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

#### TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

#### APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

#### AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

#### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent. of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

#### Can You Help?

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898.  
At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

"Resolved, That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and as our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, has been sacrificing himself for the past three years to keep his little Socialist Daily News going without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted unanimously and a fund was started by each member contributing his or her mite.

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space, and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending their mite.

Send all remittances to our county central committee secretary, Herman Culver, DAVID O'BRIEN,

Chairman Co. Cen. Com.

HERMAN CULVER, Secretary.

Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance.

In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle; here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE.

The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE.

The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

#### AUSTRIA.

1895 ..... 90,000

1897 ..... 750,000

#### BELGIUM.

1894 ..... 334,500

1898 ..... 534,324

#### DENMARK.

1872 ..... 315

1884 ..... 6,805

1887 ..... 8,408

1890 ..... 17,232

1892 ..... 20,098

1895 ..... 25,019

#### FRANCE.

1885 ..... 30,000

1888 ..... 91,000

1893 ..... 590,000

1898 ..... 1,000,000

#### GERMANY.

1867 ..... 30,000

1871 ..... 101,927

1874 ..... 351,670

1877 ..... 486,843

1878 ..... 437,158

1881 ..... 311,961

1884 ..... 599,990

1887 ..... 763,128

1890 ..... 1,427,298

1893 ..... 1,786,738

1898 ..... 2,125,000

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

1895 ..... 55,000

#### ITALY.

1893 ..... 20,000

1895 ..... 76,400

1897 ..... 134,496

#### SERVIA.

1895 ..... 50,000

#### SPAIN.

1893 ..... 7,000

1895 ..... 14,800

1897 ..... 28,000

#### SWITZERLAND.

1890 ..... 13,510

1893 ..... 29,822

1896 ..... 36,468

#### UNITED STATES.

1890 ..... 13,704

1891 ..... 16,552

1892 ..... 21,512

1893 ..... 25,666

1894 ..... 30,020

1895 ..... 34,869

1896 ..... 36,275

1897 ..... 55,550

1898 (est.) ..... 70,000

## VOTE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

1898 ..... 9,749

## TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.

1898 ..... 5,000,000

## LABOUR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

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(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

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# Social Democratic Party of America.

## Constitution of National Council.

### NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may determine.

### HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Section 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Section 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Section 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

### REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance, for each member.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Section 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

### OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

### REFERENDUM.

Section 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

### RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

### CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

#### NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the \_\_\_\_\_ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

#### NOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The \_\_\_\_\_ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

#### REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

#### THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive

Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary to determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

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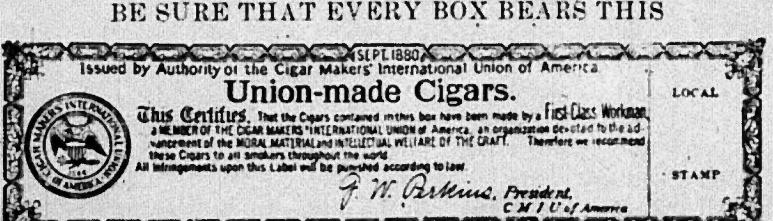
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# WORLD OF LABOR.

## INTERNATIONAL.

### LONDON, ENGLAND.

As now arranged the Jaures-Liebknecht-Vandervelde banquet will be held at the Holborn restaurant on Thursday, March 9th. Only 300 tickets will be issued, and these will be allocated in the order of application. A. E. Fletcher will occupy the chair, and among other well known Socialists invited to attend and speak are G. N. Barnes, Herbert Burrows, J. Keir Hardie, H. M. Hyndman, and Sidney Olivier.

### BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINE.

The national congress passed a new law against the cattle thieves. The chief of police of this province recently said there was such terrible misery and suffering among the unemployed workingmen that they were compelled to starve or steal the cattle of neighboring farmers. In his opinion the entire police force was powerless to stop the trade of cattle stealing.

### BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

The king of the Belgians is dreaming of "annihilating" the Social Democratic party. He fears that the radical democratic and the Socialist elements might soon get into power and that some of the Socialists might even have a chance to get into the cabinet. At present the clerical and conservatives are the leading political parties in Belgium.

### ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

Many thousands of peasants are starving. The general suffering extends over an area inhabited by about 20 million people. It seems that the government will make no attempt to help these poor people. While such terrible conditions exist in various parts of the country the government is spending millions of rubles for new warships.

### PRAGUE, AUSTRIA.

It is estimated that there are at least 20,000 workingmen out of work in this city. In some of the trades such as goldsmith, wagon-maker, etc., about half of the men are unemployed. The authorities are not doing anything to mitigate the sufferings of these poor wage-workers.

### VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

The concentration of capital into the hands of the few is also merrily going on in this country. According to an estimate made by the Arbeiter Zeitung on the basis of a report of the minister of finances there are 1101 millionaires in Austria.

### GERA, GERMANY.

Comrade Helphand, a well known Socialist journalist, recently expelled from Prussian territory, has been informed that he must also leave the territory of the Reuss principality on account of his "Socialist record."

### STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

The Social Democrats and trades unions are determined to inaugurate a general strike throughout the country if the government refuses to grant universal suffrage.

### TRIESTE, AUSTRIA.

"Il Lavoratore" is the name of a new Social Democratic weekly published in this city.

### GENERAL NOTES.

Canada has recently spent \$16,000,000 on her canals alone.

The world's agriculture occupies the attention of 280,000,000 men.

Max Beerbohm gave an after-dinner address on "The Forensic Drama" at a recent meeting of the London City Socialist Circle.

The smallest salary paid to the head of any civilized government is \$15 a year to the president of the republic of Andorra, in the Pyrenees.

Only one third of the world population use bread as a daily article of food. Fully one-half of the people on earth subsist chiefly on rice.

Reduction in wages in the woolen

mill industry still continues at various points. The Sawyer mill at Dover, N. H., has made a cut of 10 per cent in all its departments.

The pension to the aged and infirm disbursed by the German government last year amounted to \$6,825,000. In this country the poorhouses are the last refuge of the old and infirm.

Ellis Bartholomew, a Lima, O., Socialist and trade union worker, has been allowed a patent for a railway and street car air brake that overcomes all defects in those brakes in use at present without infringing on any of them.

"What you want to do," said the druggist, as he handed the old darky the patent medicine, "is to take a dose of this after every meal." "Yes, sah," was the reply; "an' now, will you please, sah, tell me whar I'm gwine ter git de meals?"—Atlanta Constitution.

The German dramatist, Gerhardt Hauptmann, author of *The Weavers*, has recently been awarded the Grillparzer prize of 2400 florins, which is distributed every three years by the Vienna Academy of Sciences to the author of the best dramatic work of the year. The prize has only been given nine times altogether, and three years ago Herr Hauptmann gained it with his *Hannele Mattern*.

Mr. Bernard Shaw at Hindhead, England, utterly disclaimed being a disarmament man in any sense. As long as war and fighting existed at all, the more its naked, wicked character should come out, the more its murderous character of massacring men by machinery should be understood. When the great international tribunal was established, he hoped that the most advanced nations would put their armaments together, not for the purpose of making war, but for the purpose of compelling other nations to submit their disputes to arbitration.

### The Tyranny of the Dead.

"In religious nine-tenths of the race are under the despotism of the dead. Not one out of a hundred devotees of any religion can give any reason for his opinions and practice beyond this, 'Dead men did it.'

"Our social customs are of the same character. Our ideas of property and economics are burdens imposed on us by the dead. What sane reason can be given for the inheritance of large amounts of property? Why should men who died a century ago dictate what teachings shall be given students at Andover to-day? Why should some men be so rich that they can not get poor, and others so poor that they can not get rich? Why should the heart of the national business life be a den of thieves and gamblers on our stock exchange? Why should machinery enslave men or make them idle when it ought to enrich them and set them free? Why in christendom are there 100,000,000 people who never have enough to eat? There is only one answer. 'It is our willing subserviency to the tyranny of the dead.'

"When we consider our so-called administration of justice, we find the conditions worse yet. We are crushed by the weight of the hundreds of dead men's laws and thousands of dead men's precedents with the complicated and cumbersome machinery of dead men, cause our courts to be the despair of all except the rich and powerful.—B. Fay Mills.

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### The Patient Poor.

Many heartrending scenes were witnessed yesterday among the hard working gangs in the street cleaning department that battled with the blinding, freezing snow for eight long weary hours in order that a few dollars might be earned with which to provide bread and fuel for cold and hungry ones at home. One case was particularly distressing. A poor white man, who was put to work a few days ago, and who scarcely had clothing enough to keep his body warm in spring weather, had both hands so badly frozen that he will probably lose all of his fingers.

The man reported for work without gloves or overcoat. Captain J. C. Weaver, the superintendent of the district to which he was assigned, told him he had better go home for the day. With tears streaming down his cheeks, the freezing workman said he could not, because there was no bread in the house for his starving wife and family. "I could not buy gloves," he continued, "because I spent the last pennies I had for coal." Notwithstanding his frosted hands, the poor fellow worked manfully until time to quit, and then he was scarcely able to walk home.

Captain Bye said such stories were plentiful in every district. The suffering was intense, not half of the men being properly clothed. In many instances their feet were almost exposed through thin soles and unprotected tops. "Never in the history of this department have I ever heard of so much suffering among the men," said Captain Bye, "and yet the men will keep at it. They say they must have work, and are glad of the opportunity to shovel snow. The patient manner in which the forces endure these hardships is a revelation to me. It simply means food, fuel and clothing in nearly every case, for a poor, sick wife and suffering children."—Baltimore American.

### Poet of the People.

It is encouraging to note that the works of the Italian poetess, Ada Negri, are running through edition after edition, and have caused a furore in Italy. She has published two volumes of lyrics, "Fatalita" and "Tempeste," treating almost exclusively of the miseries of the working-classes, to which as we understand, she belongs. In them she depicts the horrors of life in mine and factory, the overworked schoolmistress, the hopeless search for work, mother and child in a public lodging house, the night-walker, the strike, the bread-riot, etc. In all of this there is none of the roughness of finish which might have been expected, but her style and language compare favorably with those of the best Italian poets, and in force and intensity there are few who have equaled her. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of her work. In her poem *Eviction* she describes the sordid heap of furniture on the pavement and adds, suggestively, "Who knows? This wretched pile they've made may grow into a barricade."

But she looks forward to something better than a mere revolution of violence; and her poem, *The Strike*, concludes with these words: "O, golden age of flowers and songs and kisses." Come ever faster, When the oppressor with the oppressed have vanished, And slave and master."

### What Socialism Is.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

Any theory or system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

### WHAT THE READERS SAY

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